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**HISTORICAL INTERACTION BETWEEN THE  
DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA.**

BY PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

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### I CULTURAL CONTACT BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

It is well-known that Aryan tongues failed to supplant the Dravidian languages of South India, as they most successfully did in Northern India where the Dravidian parent-tongue was certainly spoken before the advent of the Aryans. 'It is also a well-known fact' as Dr. D. P. Bhandarkar says,\* "that there are many Sanskrit words which are really Dravidian and Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* gives a long list of them. But in compiling this list, he (Kittel) seems to have drawn exclusively upon Classical Sanskrit which was never a *bāsha* or spoken language." Some go to the extent of saying that one Dravidian word at least is known to occur even in the Veda; and in Hindi and Vernacular Bengali which bristle with Sanskrit and derivative words, a fair portion of the vocabulary and structural peculiarities are borrowed from the Dravidian and the so-called Munda groups of languages. Again, on the other side to show the penetration of Aryan languages in the Deccan and the South, we have got the epigraphic evidence of Asoka's *prakrit* inscriptions at Jaugadā and other places in regions where now Telugu, Uriya and Canarese are spoken. The Buddhist *stupas* at Bhattiprolu, Amaravati and Jaggavyapetta, contain short donative inscriptions, which include Aryan names like *Siddārtha*, *Vriddika* and *Kanha*, *Heaṇṇikas* and *Chammakaras* (goldsmiths and leather-workers). This certainly proves that Pali, an Aryan tongue, was spoken in this region from at least 150 B.C. to 200 A.D., the epoch of these inscriptions. Three copies of Asoka's Minor Rock-Edicts have been found in the Chitaldrug District in the heart of what is now a Canarese-speaking region. Down to the 4th century A.D. Pali seems to have been the official language of kings in some of the regions where Dravidian languages are now spoken. One stone

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\* *Carmichael Lectures, 1918* (Calcutta University), page 26.

inscription found at Malavalli in the Shimoga District attributed to Vinnukada of the Chutukula line ruling in the region of Banavasi and three Pallava inscriptions of the so-called dynasty of the Prakrit Charters found in the country between Bellary and Guntur—all of them assignable to the same period—contain numerous references to Aryan officials and administrative terms like *Rājakumārasēnāpati*, *Gāmāgāmabhōjaka*, *gō-vallava* (cowherds). The instructions issued to these are couched in Pali and “the conclusion is inevitable that this Aryan tongue, at least up to the 4th century A D was spoken and understood by all classes of the people in a country of which the capital was Kanchi-pura” The use of the Aryan tongue had spread even further south as is evidenced by the recently discovered Brahmi inscriptions found in the Madura district and attributable to this or even perhaps an earlier epoch. But their full significance has not yet been brought out Aryan colonisation of Maharashtra, Kalinga and other regions was followed by their further expansion southwards even into Ceylon, which latter event was much earlier than the advent of Mauryan Buddhism under the aegis of Mahinda into that island. The Aryans who colonised these regions of Maharashtra, Kalinga, etc, spoke practically the same dialect and when they went further to Ceylon they naturally introduced their own dialect there—We must suppose that this dialect (Pali) was already being spoken when Mahinda came and introduced his Buddhism. “The Magadhi of the sacred texts brought by Mahinda must thus have been replaced by Pali, the dialect of Ceylon, and we can perfectly understand how in this gradual replacement a few Maghadisms of the original may here and there have escaped this weeding out especially as Magadhi and Pali were not two divergent languages, but only two dialects of one and the same language.”

Thus it is curious that while Aryan languages have triumphantly swept the whole country from the Punjab to Maharashtra and Kalinga and even further south and penetrated into farthest Ceylon, they were precluded from supplanting the indigenous tongues only in South India. Kanarese words with genuine Aryan vocables have been discovered in a Greek farce of the 2nd century A.D. written by an unknown

author in a papyrus unearthed at Oxyrhynchus about 20 years back. There was commercial intercourse between Egypt and the West Coast of India in the early centuries of the Christian era and it is not strange if some Egyptian Greeks did understand Canarese. The play is connected with a Greek lady stranded on the Indian coast and contains two sentences in Canarese relating to drinking. The very fact that in respect of such an ordinary affair as drinking, we find in the Canarese passages words from the Aryan vocabulary, like *ṛātra* (cup), *pānam* and *madhu*, shows what hold Aryan speech had on this tongue even at that early age. The connection of the Aryan or northerner with the pure Tamils can also be traced to a very antique past. "As far as we could trace the term Aryan in early Tamil literature, it was used in both a broad as well as in a narrow sense. In the broader sense it means the northerner with the northern culture, the typical representative of that culture, so far as the Tamils were concerned, being the Brahmin. But there is another sense in which the term is used synonymously with the Tamil word *Vadavar* (northerner). In the general sense there are references to Aryans as a people who were defeated at Vallam by a Chola (*Mullarppāttu* ll 35-36) and who were defeated by a Chera king in his northern campaign who boasted of having imprinted his bow-emblem on the face of the Himalayas and brought some of the Aryan kings as captives to his capital Vanji (*Ahananūru-Pāvarkottirā* ll 20-22)." The Tamil word *Vadukar* (Canarese *Badagu*) seems to have been applied to those people who were living in the immediate north of the regular Tamil frontier of Tirupati and Pulicat.

The story of Agastya's migration from the Ganges through Dwarka to the Podiyil hills really means the coming of that northern culture which is associated with the Brahmin. Early Tamil works like the *Pathiruppatthu*, *Tholkāppiyam* and others give an idea of the duties of the Brahmin which certainly indicate an immigration of the Brahmins from the north and the Deccan to South India in times much anterior to this literature, i.e., considerably before the first centuries of the Christian era; and the character of such Brahminism as we see here is eminently pre-Buddhistic. According to the writings of Baudhayana, the earliest *śūtra*-writer, who in the opinion of Bühler

lived and taught in the 5th century B.C.. Aryan culture had, then extended so far south as Kalinga; and it is clear from him that South India had begun not only to be colonised by immigrants from the north but also possessed in its several kingdoms seats of distinct schools of learning and law. Ceylonese tradition assigns the Aryan occupation of the island to one Vijaya from Bengal, a Buddhist prince whom it sets down to the middle of the 6th century B.C. Making allowance for the anxiety of the Bhikkus to make the northern occupation of Ceylon correspond with the date of the Buddha's birth, it may be supposed that Ceylon was in Aryan occupation at least in the 5th century B.C. Thus the south, even prior to Asoka's time was in constant communication with the Deccan and the north. By that epoch Aryans seem to have consolidated their position in widely different parts of South India. They appear from all accounts to have impressed the indigenous kings with their superior abilities and in time they came to occupy important positions at their courts and developed their languages and eventually made them follow their religious, legal and moral codes so far as such assimilation was possible.

The spread of Buddhism and Jainism to the south as early as the Mauryan age further intensified the connection, as illustrated by the Buddhist mission of Mahendra, the brother of Asoka, and by the story of the alleged migration of the Jainas from the north under Bhadrabahu and Chandra Gupta Maurya. The truth of this latter account is incapable alike of proof and disproof. The crowning discovery of Asoka's inscriptions in the Molakālmuru Taluq of Mysore presumes that North Mysore formed part of the Mauryan empire; and a local seat of the Mauryan government existed probably at Isila (indicated by Siddha of Siddhapura).

With the gradual opening up of the country fresh streams of settlers from Aryavarta and more particularly from the Deccan poured down, some at the instance of kings, some in search of fields and pastures new and others driven by famine, pestilence or political disturbances. The earlier Pallava grants teach us that Brahmins were already enjoying court favour (*i.e.*, in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.). Traditions are

still preserved of the introduction in the 3rd and 4th centuries A D of Brahmins, the progenitors of the Haigha Brahmins, from Abichhatra in Pāñchāla by one of the Kadamba kings. Mayūrasarman, the founder of the Kadamba line, is said to have introduced Brahmin colonists from the north and granted them 64 villages below the ghats. Such settlements continued to be the rule as witnessed by Rajendra Chola's importation of a few Brahmin families from Bengal, and later migrations are also heard of in Vijayanagara times. All this colonisation from the Deccan and the north seems to have been essentially peaceful.

## II POLITICAL CONNECTION

Coming to the political connection in historical times between the Tamils and the peoples of the Deccan, we find evidences of the Tamil Chola rulers of the earliest times like Karikala trying to strengthen their frontier region of Kanchi, and there was fairly constant warfare going on in the disputed frontier country, i.e., the region between the Lower Krishna and the Tirupati hills. While yet the Cholas were dominant in the south holding Tondaimandalam as their palatine or marcher viceroyalty, the powerful Satavahanas under kings like Vasishtiputra Sri Pulumāvi (ca. middle of the 2nd century A D) made a great effort at southern expansion beyond the Krishna to the N Pennar basin and farther south. "This effort," as Dr. S K Aiyangar says, "is reflected in Tamil literature by references to various incidents in the struggle between the Aryas and the Vadukar on the one hand and the Tamil rulers, particularly the Cholas, on the other. When after the death of Karikala, owing apparently to the civil war that raged in the Chola country, the Chola hold over the north relaxed, the Andhra Satavahanas advanced south and occupied the country almost up to the banks of the Southern Pennar, as the ship coins of the Andhras found in this region would indicate. Probably in the time of Yagna Sri (179—202 A.D.) they felt the necessity of a viceroyalty for this region and appointed a local chieftain of some influence to that position. The Pallava kings of the earliest dynasty which issued the so-called Prakrit Charters were derived from this frontier viceroyalty of the Satavahanas.

The powerful dynasty of the Chūtus who gave themselves the title of Nagas, played a prominent part in the region of Banavāsi (Vaijayanti); and it was in close alliance with the Chūtu power, that the founders of the Second Pallava Dynasty, Vīrakūrcha and his son Skandavarman, were able to reassert Pallava lordship over all the territory as far north as Vengi—about the middle of the 4th century A.D. These Pallava rulers, essentially connected with the Andhra Satavahanas and the Chūtus, having settled themselves in Kanchi and ruling there for a number of generations, were inevitably and unconsciously assimilated into the people and country of their rule. Gradually the Great Pallavas like Mahendravarman and Narasimhavarman became masters of the Chola territory in the heart of the Tamil country and gave a great impetus to South Indian art and architecture. Mahendravarman's support of Saint Appar and the Saivite movement against the Jains, his patronage of literature, his rock-cut caves and temples—all opened a new era whose apotheosis came in the reign of Narasimhavarman.

The Pallavas might be said to have succeeded to the northern heritage of the Cholas, *viz.*, the maintenance of the frontier in security against the northern enemy. They fought continuously against the Early Chalukyas of Vātāpi who had established themselves first in the northern and western parts of the Andhra dominions and gradually extended downwards into the Chūtu Naga territory. It is this Pallava-Early Chalukya struggle along the debatable frontier of the Krishna-Tungabhadra that led to Pulakesin II Chalukya's conquest of the Vengi country which turned the flank of Pallava dominion and gave rise to the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty of Vengi-Rajahmundry. Mahendravarman is supposed to have checked a Chalukya invasion into his own territory at the modern Palur, while his son Narasimha vanquished Pulakesin in various battles and effected the destruction of Vātāpi as mentioned in the important Kūram, Kāsākudi and Udayēndiram Plates. There were subsequent invasions of the Chalukyas into Pallava territory in the time of Parmesvaravarman I and again in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla when Vikramaditya II Chalukya, according to the Kendur plates, entered Kanchi "which was, as it were a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south."

Kanchi under the Pallavas was the centre of northern culture as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian or southern. It was a *ghatika* of the Brahmins even at an earlier epoch, and Mayūrasarman, the founder of the Kadamba line, had to go to that place to complete his Vedic studies. Dandin and Bharavi seem to refer themselves to the Pallava times and court; and the series of dramas which have been recently published at Trivandrum as Bhasa's seem also to belong to this period—abridged for the purpose of being staged before the court of some king, most likely Narasimhavarman Rajasimha. The Pallava age was also the age of the great Saiva and Vaishnava seers and produced the very valuable devotional literature of the *Alvars* and the *Nayanmars*. According to Dr S K Aiyangar the first four of the Alvars may be ascribed to the earliest period of the Pallavas, Nammalvar and Kulasekhara may be put down as being a little later and the last of them, Tirumangai, has his chronological position definitely fixed by his reference to an occupation of Kanchi by Dantadurga the first Rakshttrakuta king (*cir* 760 A D). Thus in the north as in the south, Neo-Hinduism was active almost about the same time and superseded the previously prevailing Jainism and Buddhism as the most popular faith.

During all the time of the Pallava rule they had to keep up close relations with the other powers on the fringes of the Deccan like the Eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi and the Kadambas of West Mysore at first and the Western Chalukyas and the Western Gangas later on. In fact the Pallavas had to keep up the security of their northern frontier all along the whole line from Vijayanti in the west to Vengi in the east. The wedge of the Vengi kingdom thrust into their flank by Pulakesin greatly weakened them in their hold over the north-east frontier and made them more definitely a southern and Tamil power than before.

After the Western Chalukyas of Vātāpi were superseded by the indigenous Rashtrakuta line of Malkhed (753—973 A D) the Pallava frontier warfare had to be kept up with them; and the Chalukya-Pallava struggle became the Rashtrakuta-Pallava struggle. Dantidurga, the founder of the Rashtrakuta line (*cir*. 753), imposed his



suzerainty over Nandivārman Pallavamalla; Krishna Raja, his paternal uncle and successor and the builder of the famous rock-cut shrine of Kailasa at Ellora which is supposed to be a close imitation of the temple of the same name at Kauchi, completed this task; Dhruva (780—93), the next Rashtrakuta, asserted his suzerainty over the Mysore country by imprisoning a Ganga king and drove the Pallava into renewed submission. Govinda III, the son of Dhruva (783—815), who established his family's power on a most stable basis conquered Dantiga, the ruler of Kanchi, and established his supremacy over the king of Vengi as well. It was this strengthening of the Deccan power along the whole northern frontier from the Ganga territory in the west to the Vengi region in the east that constituted one of the prime political factors for the decline of Pallava power, another factor being the revival of the Pandyan power and its gradual assertion and pressure from the south.

When the Pandyas who were given in the 9th century a golden opportunity of wresting power from the Pallavas failed to do so on account of internal dissensions and other contributing causes, the revived Chola line of Vijayalaya stepped into the place of hegemony over all South India vacated by the Pallavas. For over two centuries and a half, from the accession of Parantaka in 906—7 A.D. to the epoch of the successors of Kulottunga, *viz.*, Vikrama, Kulottunga II, Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II (1118—1178 A.D.), it was the Cholas that enjoyed the military, political and cultural hegemony of the south and it was they that took up the corresponding obligation of securing and defending the northern frontier. We hear of Krishna III Rashtrakuta (*cir.* 940—65 A.D.), who in alliance with the W. Ganga prince fought and killed Rajaditya Chola at Takkolam; and the Lakshmesvar Record speaks of the conqueror as “a very *antaka* (death) to the Chola.” When the Rashtrakutas gave place to the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani (973) the latter had to take up the challenge of the Cholas, and we find an active recrudescence of hostilities between the Tamil power and the Deccan power. The first kings of this Later Chalukya line, Tailapa (973—997 A.D.) and Satyasraya, had to fight on their own northern frontier against the Paramara rulers, Munja and Bhoja.

of Dhara and to defend their southern frontier against the growing menace of the great power of Rajaraja Chola—even as Pulakesin of the Earlier Chalukya line had to maintain a double defence against the southern expansion of Harsha of Kanauj and the northern advances of Mahendravarman and Narasimhavarman of Kanchi. Rajaraja's two invasions of Rattappadi (the 7½ lakh country) in one of which he conquered Nolambappadi and Gangappadi (which constituted the bulk of Mysore) gave him a great advantage and enabled him to seize all the south-western flank of the Deccan power, his over-running of Vengi-Nadu and his establishment of a close political connection with the Eastern Chalukya dynasty gave him a similar tactical and military advantage on the eastern flank of the enemy.

The Chola and Chalukya rulers of the next generation, Rajendra Gangaikonda and Jayasimha, boast of having conquered each other; and the success was probably on both sides alternately. Somesvara Ahavamalla (1042—68) is described by Bilhana, the biographer of his more famous son, as having defeated the Cholas in the south and stormed the distant Dhara in Malwa in the north. In 1047 the Cholas had their own advance into Chalukya territory in the course of which they set fire to Kolhapur (near Secunderabad) and destroyed the Chalukya palace at Kampli (in the present Hospet Taluq). In their next advance the Cholas seized Kalyani itself and planted a pillar of victory at Kolhapur. Ahavamalla's sanguinary victory over the Cholas at Koppam (1053—54) had its own nemesis in the counter-triumphs of the Cholas at Bezwada and at Kudal Sangamam. The Chalukya would not accept those defeats as final and challenged the Chola to a final struggle; but he drowned himself in the Tungabhadra before matters could come to a final issue.

The next important stage of the Chola-Chalukya relations is the epoch of Vikramanka Chalukya, the hero of Bilhana and the patron of the great jurist Vijñanesvara (1168—69—1129) and of Kulottunga Chola who combined in himself the Chola and Vengi dominions and was an imperialist of the widest ambitions. The two Chola invasions of Kalunga undertaken in his reign were rendered possible by his hold over the Vengi territory which now, as in the later Vijayanagara-

Bahmini struggles, played an all-important part. Kulottunga's age was one of great religious and literary revival and activity even as the age of his contemporaries Vikramanka in the Deccan and Kirtivarman Chandel of Bundelkhand who was the patron of the allegorical play *Prabodha Chandrōdaya*.

The successors of Kulottunga, though patrons of learning and culture as typified by men of genius like Sekkīlar, Pugalēndi, Ottakkūthar and Kambar could not keep up their imperial position intact, even as the successors of Vikramanka-Somesvara III, Bhulokamalla and others could not stem the tide of decline of the Chalukya power. Indeed, Kulottunga III's (1178—1216) victorious entry into Madura, the pomp with which he celebrated his overlordship of the Pandyas and the Keralas, his conquest of the two Kongus, his alliance with the Hoysalas and his triumphant advance to Nellore marked the high-water level of the latter-day Chola power just before it sank. "The forces of disintegration were already visible under the surface in the sullen discontent of the Pandyas in the south, the aggressive ambition of the neighbouring powers in the north and the smothered restiveness of the ambitious chieftains within." Pandyan advances, the rebellion of Kopperunjinga of Sendamangalam, the frequent interventions of the Hoysalas who had been slowly growing during the last two centuries to power in Mysore on the ruin of the Ganga dominions, civil wars between rival claimants to the Chola throne itself and the steady growth of the Kakatiya power of Warangal which was rising on the ruins of the Vengi and the Later Chalukya powers—these combined to ultimately reduce the Cholas to nothing in the course of the 13th century. Likewise the Deccan power of the Chalukyas had declined owing to the Kalachurya usurpation, the rise of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri from the north and the pressure of the Hoysalas from the south and of the growing Kakatiyas in the south-east.

Thus at the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries, we find as the ultimate fruit of a long course of action and interaction between the South Indian and the Deccan kingdoms the following situation. The Cholas had almost completely disappeared, and the whole of the Coromandel Coast (the Ma'abar of Mussalman historians)

was in the possession of two dynasties only, the Pandyas ruling up to the N. Pennar and the Kakatiyas ruling beyond. The Hoysala power extending to Kannanur and Tiruvannamalai in the east stretched as far north as a line drawn from Goa to Nellore and to the north of this line the Kakatiyas and the Yadavas brushed shoulders. Thus in the place of the powerful Chalukya and Chola empires, there stood out four mutually jealous and warring kingdoms (Pandya, Kakatiya, Hoysala and Yadava each representative of a distinct language and culture) and a number of smaller chiefs, when the great wave of Mussalman invasion under Malik Kafur broke in 1308—11.

The four kingdoms indeed that fell a prey to the Mussalman invaders were shining like gems in their cultural aspects. The last stages of Yadava rule saw Hemadri, the great *Smritikara* flourishing, and shortly before him there lived Lakshmidhara the son of Changadeva and grandson of the celebrated Bhaskara. The rule of Rudramba, the Kakatiya Queen from 1261—91, elicited praise from Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who wrote that “she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lord or lady of theirs before.” Jata-varman Sundara Pandya (1251—75 A D) drove the Kakatiyas right up to the Krishna and made his great donations to the Srirangam temple covering the shrine with gold plates and acquiring the title of கோயில் பொன் வேய்ந்த பெருமான். But the absence of harmony among these was the opportunity of the Mussalman invader. Malik Kafur certainly advanced into the Pandya country and left a Mussalman garrison behind at Madura which was probably dislodged for the time being by Ravi Varman Kulasekhara, an enterprising Kerala ruler of meteoric fame. The subsequent Mussalman invasions of Khushru Khan (1318) and Muhammad bin Tughlaq completely swept the Yadavas out of existence, shook Warangal to its foundations and destroyed Dwarasamudra. It seemed as if the Deccan was completely in Mussalman hands and South India about to become Mussalman too. But saviours appeared for South India in the shape of the last Hoysalas, Vira Ballala III and Vira Ballala IV, who kept up a double line of defence, the first along the Tungabhadra line round Hosappattana and Hampi in the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar against the Deccan

Moslems, and the second along the Kaveri-Coleroon frontier against the Mussalman Sultanate of Madura which had cut itself free from the Delhi hold. Vira Ballala III left the northern frontier in the capable hands of the brothers Harihara, Bukka, Kampa, etc., the founders of Vijayanagar, who were no other than the infidel Horaib, Kapras, Kamraz of Ibn Batuta and the Muhammadan writers, ruling all the country from Goa to Gulburga. Vira Ballala III's heroic death at the hands of the Mussalmans of Madura and the subsequent disappearance of his son Ballala IV who might have also died fighting, raised the brothers to independence and enabled them to formally inaugurate the birth of the Vijayanagar Empire. The account of the organised revolt of the Hindu states, Warangal, Kampli, and Dwarasamudra against the Mussalmans, that is given by Ferishta and others as leading to the foundation of Vijayanagar, may be interpreted to mean that Hindu political sentiment, Telugu as well as Canarese, was roused into a consciousness of its unity and of necessity for action, and that impelled on by the fervour of Vidyananva, the Empire which was to be the bulwark of South India and Hinduism came into being.

It was only in 1378 that the Vijayanagar monarchs could finally destroy the Mussalman rule of Madura and it was only then that they reconsecrated the great temple of Srirangam and felt themselves justified in assuming imperial titles.

The long and bloody wars waged between the Bahmini and Vijayanagar monarchs for over two centuries down to the battle of Talikot were not merely the reassertion of the natural political enmity of north and south, but also due to the antagonism between proselytising Islam and conserving Hinduism. In all these wars, the still continuing Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal, serving as a wedge between the two rivals, was of some use to the Hindu cause. But with the disappearance of the Kakatiyas and the occupation of their territory by the Bahminis and by the Gajapatis of Orissa, the danger to Vijayanagar became greater, and it became more than ever vulnerable to attack from this flank. It was the Vengi region that was the decisive military factor in the struggle between the Pallavas and the early Chalukyas and again in the later struggle between the Imperial Cholas and the Later

Chalukyas. It was the hostile occupation of this region that weakened the Vijayanagar Empire at the close of the rule of its first dynasty, it was the vigorous measures undertaken by the usurpers, Saluva Narasinga and Narasa Nayaka, to defend against attacks from this frontier that saved the Empire from ruin. It was also the series of vigorous campaigns undertaken by the glorious Krishna Deva Raya in this region that contributed to safeguard the Empire from external attack for the time being and enabled Aliya Rama Raja to assume such a lofty and haughty attitude towards the Bahmini Sultans.

The two vulnerable points where Vijayanagar was exposed to attack were the Vengi and the Lower Krishna region and the Raichur Doab. When after Talikota, the Empire was shattered, Mussalman penetration into South India took these two directions respectively, the Golconda Sultan penetrating across the Lower Krishna to the Upper Coromandel Coast (Carnatic Payinghaut) and the Bijapurians penetrating through the Raichur Doab into the Mysore plateau and descending thence into the middle Carnatic. Subsequent invaders from the Deccan into South India took the latter route, *e g*, Shahaji and the Marathas who advanced through Sera and Bangalore to the delta of the Kaveri, Sivaji himself and later the generals of Aurangazib and finally Nizam-ul-Mulk.